1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4.

twigs having a very remote similarity to human figures serve this purpose. They are also called "protectors" (ine'ŋjulanu). However, this latter term is applied to the entire group of guardian-charms. The people usually wear the little kalaks attached to the belt, when travelling or hunting without companions. The Koryak are afraid to drive or walk alone through the woods or in the wilderness, because they believe that evil spirits (kalau), which haunt such places in large numbers, may easily overcome a lonely traveller. In such cases the little kalaks replace fellow-travellers, and serve as guardians against evil spirits. Another string of guardians (Fig. 7, *b*) contains a small human figure made of grass, charmed beads representing drums, and wolf's and hare's hair braided with sinew-thread. The Reindeer Koryak call the string of guardians okka'mak-lō[2]; that is, "wooden kamak face."[1] A snow-beater of antler, with a handle carved in the form of a raven-beak (Fig. 8), is also regarded as a fellow-traveller and guardian.

Fig. 6 ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$). Guardian of Nets. Length, 21 cm.

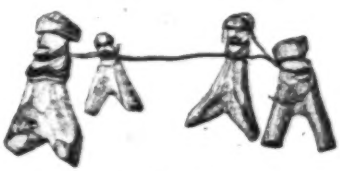

Fig. 7, *a* ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$), *b* ($\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{2}$). Strings of "Little Kalaks," or Guardians. Length of figure, 4 cm.

The-Searching-Kamak-Face. — This kalak (En·a'yıs-ka'mak-lō[2], literally "the searching kamak face") is the special protector of babies. It is usually sewed to the back of the child's shirt-collar[2] (Fig. 9, *a*). In the village of Paren I obtained such a protector attached to a strap (Fig. 9, *b*), which the child used to wear around the neck, under the shirt, like a cross; but

[1] See p. 38, Footnote 3.

[2] It is interesting to compare this with the custom of the Eskimo of Baffin Land, where a woman who is with child wears an amulet attached to the back of her inner shirt (Boas, *Baffin-Land Eskimo*, p. 143); and among the Central Eskimo, amulets are always worn on the middle of the back of the inner jacket (Boas, *Central Eskimo*, p. 592).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

796 After the favorable reception of the sacrifices by the white whale, the people proceeded to send it home. Two men went out, ascended the roof, and let down into the house long thongs, to which the travelling-bags (Fig. 33) and the heads of the white whale and the seals were tied. Before pulling them up, a preliminary test of lifting them had been made, and it turned out that they were very light. This was the last divination before the final equipment for the home journey of the white whale and the seals. For three

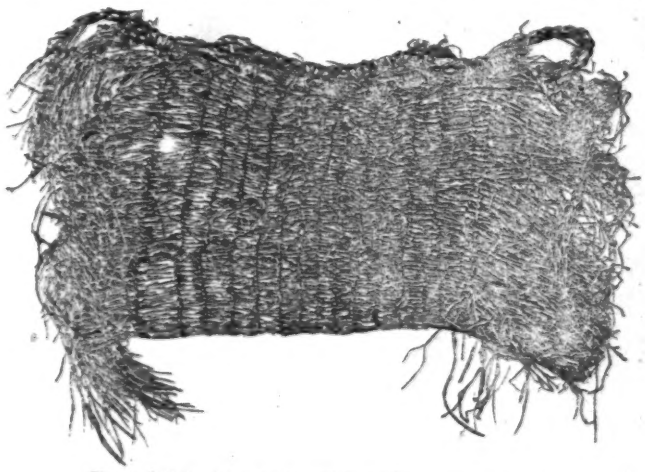

Fig. 33 ($\frac{1}{11}\frac{0}{12}$). Grass Bag for Whale Festival. Length, 120 cm.

days the bags of provisions remained on the roof. Then the puddings were eaten, and the grass bags and masks hung up in the small storehouse. I acquired the latter subsequently for my collection (see Figs. 32, 33). Toward spring they are usually carried away into the wilderness, where they are left on the ground, or hung from the branches of a tree. It is forbidden to burn them.

784 171 The following facts are of interest in connection with the festival for "equipping the whale for its home journey." The tendency of "having nothing in common" with the hearth of somebody else is not as strong among the Koryak as among the Chukchee. The family hearth of the Chukchee is sacred, and the fire of one family must not be brought in contact with the fire of another family. The kettle or teapot of one house must not be brought near the fire of another family, not even into another house. It would desecrate and infect the family hearth. Among the Koryak the taboo of "non-communion" with a stranger's hearth is observed in a lesser number of cases. For instance, among the Maritime Koryak the taboo of carrying fire from

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

one house to another is observed only in summer, since otherwise success in sealing may be brought to an end. But during the whale festival, families that are not interrelated bring into the house where the celebration takes place wood, dishes, food, and sacrificial grass. They build a fire jointly, and cook together. On the other hand, before the celebration takes place, all the bedding and the skin covers of the sleeping-rooms are taken out of the house. Temporarily the house is thus transformed into a ceremonial house.

In connection with this it may be mentioned, that, during the Koryak fair on the Palpal Mountains, which I visited, the Reindeer Koryak built a common oblong reindeer-skin tent. Each family covered a part of the tent with their own reindeer-skins. The house formed a long passage, on both sides of which the sleeping-rooms of the separate families were put up. In two places, near the foci of the oval, two hearths were built for general use. The Chukchee families that were present at the fair each put up a separate tent.

Not all the Maritime Koryak have transferred the ceremonies connected with the whale festival to white-whale hunting, as it is done in the villages of Paren, Kuel, and Itkana. The Koryak of Kamenskoye and Talovka told me that they celebrate the equipment of the white whale for the home journey without any particular ceremonies, right on the seashore, the customs being the same as those in practice after the capture of seals. They cut off the head of the captured white whale or seal, put berries in its mouth to feed it, hang sacrificial grass around it, and, turning its face seaward, pat it, and say, —

"I'nnaa a'tĉi vo'ten aya'yan. ı'mıñ qaitumgıya'nvo hewñava'ta: mıḷḷalai'
"Soon to-day with (this) tide (come). All relatives induce: come
kınemık."
on."

That is, "When the next high tide comes, induce all your relatives to come with you to visit us."

Then they add, "Go around the flippers of those who do not wish to come."[1] Thereupon they turn the face toward the village, and exclaim, "Uph, (he) has come!" (Gık, y'etti!)

The Koryak think that this incantation has the effect of bringing sea-animals with the following tide. Before sending off the head, they cut off a piece of the white whale's or the seal's liver; and the Koryak maintain that the liver of the next animal caught will lack a piece at the same place.

The Reindeer Koryak from the Taigonos Peninsula, a number of whom carry on sea-hunting on a small scale during the summer, after having procured a white whale, offer a sacrifice of a reindeer or a dog to the master of the sea (añqa'ken-etı'nvıla'n). They cut off a piece of fat from the white whale or seal, and, throwing it into the fire, they say, "Come back later on."

[1] The Koryak words represented by this last sentence could not be literally translated.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

342 placed upon the posts of the ante-room, and on top of them are horizontal poles forming the roof, which is covered with earth. The two side-walls of the entrance-room are covered outside with earth up to the top (see Part I, Plate VIII), so that the roof of the ante-room is accessible without a ladder. The height of the passage is hardly that of an average man. I had to stoop considerably to pass through the ante-room into the house. The door leading from outside into the entrance-room, and that leading from the entrance-room into the house (see Fig. 61), are each only a little over 1 metre in height, so that one has to stoop very much to enter the passage and the house.

The dirt floor of the entrance-room slopes slightly down toward the door leading into the house. At the entrance from the ante-room into the house there is a threshold. The dirt floor of the house is on a somewhat lower level than that of the ante-room. The entrance-room, or passage, is called ya'xel.

The door leading from the entrance-room to the house is in use only during the fishing and sealing season, — from the early part of May till the end of October.[1] In October, when the skin boat is taken out of the water and put away for the winter, the entrance to the passage is closed up. It is first covered with grass, then earth is put over it, and pressed down with heavy logs (see Fig. 182 and Plate XXIII, Fig. 2). The custom of shutting off the door for the winter might be very simply explained as due to the wish to avoid the unpleasant necessity of constantly clearing the entrance from snow-drifts.

In the Kamenskoye settlement my wife and I occupied a small Russian log-cabin belonging to a cossack who was absent at that time, and we had ample opportunity of experiencing the inconveniences of this type of dwelling in that climate. Every wind, violent or not, would cover our house with snow to the top, and we were fastened in until my men (a cossack and an interpreter), who slept in a neighboring Koryak house, came, together with Koryaks, and cleared away the snow from our door.

●184 But the Koryak attach a religious importance to the custom of closing
342 up the lower entrance during winter. It is sinful, they say, to go into the house through that entrance in winter-time. However, none of the Koryak were able to explain the meaning of this taboo, and but one offered a plausible explanation.

Just as the entrance to the tent of the Reindeer Koryak faces the side where the sun rises, so does the lower entrance to the house of the Maritime Koryak face the sea. In summer the door of the lower entrance is open in order to give free access to the sea-mammals, as though they were visitors; but if, without any cause, the door should be left open in winter, when all

[1] Schrenck's (II, p. 25) statement founded upon verbal information given by Baron Maydell, that the Koryak enter the underground house through the entrance-room only once during the year, is inexact. Baron Maydell was apparently misinformed (see Part I, p. 14).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

hunting for sea-mammals is at an end, then the animals would avoid that house the next summer, and the occupants would be unsuccessful in their hunt. The lower doors of the houses which are occupied only during winter are, for the same reason, not opened at all.

When the lower door is walled up, a ladder is placed vertically on the floor of the house, rising toward the side *f* (Fig. 62) of the entrance-place in the roof (see Plate xx). The ladder is made from half of a split poplar-tree. On the side where it was cleft, that is, on the back of the ladder, the wood is hollowed out like a trough, that it may be easily grasped with the hands. Instead of steps, holes are cut through at distances of from 30 cm. to 40 cm. apart. These holes are like flattened disks in form. They are large enough for the small feet of the Koryak, particularly those of the women, and children's feet would enter up to the instep; but my feet, in shaggy winter stockings and boots, could hardly get through them. On ladders with small holes I had to get up by the tips of my toes only. Once, as I remember, the fur toe of my boot slipped off the step, and I should have fallen down into the house from a height of five metres, had I not clutched the ladder with my hands, and in this manner slid down. Once my cossack, carrying in one hand a bowl of flour for dinner, was going down into the house. In changing the bowl from one hand to the other, he let go of the ladder, and, losing his balance, fell into the house flat on his back.

Occasionally a Koryak falls from the ladder; but as a rule they run up the ladder carrying heavy loads in one hand, their children on their backs, or with heavy buckets of water, or with pails filled with hot soup for the dogs. It is particularly interesting to see how skilfully they strike the holes, coming down without even looking at their feet. Children three and four years old climb up the ladder as quickly as squirrels, and slide down on their hands to save time. Such a way of sliding down is not quite safe, as I found out for myself. The ladder is planed smooth, so that the hands shall not get hurt by splinters. In course of time it becomes covered with a layer of fat mixed with soot, which makes it look as though it were covered with a dark, glossy varnish. The edges are so slippery on this account that it is quite impossible to hold fast to the ladder with the hands, particularly if they are mittened. If one foot slips out of a hole before the other has had time to get into the next, a fall is likely to follow. In such case, one should by no means let go of the ladder, or he will surely land in the house on his back.

In houses occupied all the year round the ladder is removed in summer, and put away on the floor of the house, near the wall, until the next autumn. When the ladder is put up, it is anointed with fat, and charmed, in order that it may not admit any evil spirits into the house. As we have seen before,[1] the ladder is one of the family guardians, and its top is carved in

[1] Part I, p. 43.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

771 609 influence of his ill-wishing eye, wicked tongue or word. To prevent such magical influences, the stranger was not admitted to the family hearth, or the inmates would guard themselves against him by invoking the aid of protectors. These were either special idols or any other objects of the household.[1]

784 609 The hearth, as the chief protector of the family, was tabooed to the outsider. Equally inaccessible to all but relatives were the family drum and the sacred fire-drill. A kettle from a strange house could not be placed on the fire of the hearth, nor could the kettle be taken out of the house to another's fire. The drum and the fires of the hearth were never taken to a strange house, and only members of the family were allowed to touch the fire-drill. At present, as we shall see later, all these taboos have lost much of their force, but when strictly observed they must have exercised a hampering influence on the development of social life.

[771] These anti-social customs have to be attributed partly to the sense of insecurity, and partly to religious beliefs; but I am also able to indicate certain incipient tendencies towards a higher social status than the one represented by the family organization.

619 In the first place, the tradition of Big-Raven as a common ancestor generates the idea of ethnic unity. True, this idea exists but dimly in the consciousness of the Koryak. The partitive terms "the Reindeer Man," "the Maritime Man," the inhabitant of this or that settlement or camp, are more congenial to his mind than the collective term "Koryak,"[2] as a member of a unified people; but when I invited comparisons between the Koryak and the Tungus or the Yakut, the former drew the conclusion that the Koryak were of one blood, while the Tungus and the Yakut were foreigners. On the other hand, the Maritime Koryak considers himself more closely related to the Maritime Koryak than to the Reindeer Koryak, and *vice versâ*. This separation of the two groups of Koryak is fostered by the different forms of the household.

621 174 In ancient times the settlements of the Maritime Koryak were not mere territorial groups, but associations of households, the inmates of which were united by ties of common rights and obligations. New settlements were habitually founded by men who had left the original villages, — men of independent character who had gained equal prominence as good warriors and as clever hunters. Around these leaders groups of men of ordinary abilities would settle, mostly relatives by blood or marriage, but occasionally also strangers seeking the protection of the founder of the settlement. Thus the settlement had no tendency to develop into a gens whose members traced their descent to a common ancestor, but presented a union of related or friendly families with an elder at the head. Neither in traditions nor in other

[1] See Part I, p. 32.

[2] See p. 407.

17:Antropova E-4 (no date) 1964 RY4 Koryak RY4

764

Preparations for burning a corpse.

756 pronounced in succession the names of the dead ancestors until the stone
787 shook at the sound of the name. Then the family felt that the name had been
787 guessed, and it was given to the newborn.
553 The reindeer-breeding and the sedentary Koryaks held various seasonal
celebrations. The main holiday of the reindeer-breeders was the spring
796 kil'vey—the festival of horns. It was celebrated after the calving, when the
184 herd was brought to the encampment. The people brought out of their dwell-
22 ings bowls with pieces of meat and the sacred wooden fire-making device
which they proceeded to "feed." In autumn, they celebrated the festival of
the autumn deer slaughter. This festival was also attended by shamanistic
performances, sacrifices, and the "feeding" of the wooden fire-maker. The
coastal hunters celebrated the festival of floating the baydar in the spring,
at the beginning of the spring hunting season. At this time they sacrificed
dogs. After the celebration, they opened the summer entrance to the semi-
dugout. After the closing of the autumn sea hunting season (in November)
the coastal Koryaks held the "seal festival" (in olden times it was the
"whale festival"). The participants in the celebration pleaded with the ani-
mals killed during the hunt to return to the sea and let themselves be caught
again next year, and also to bring along their relatives with them. The dead
773 animals were replaced by zoomorphic representations made of seaweed.
The creator of men and the universe, according to Koryak beliefs, was
An'an' or Etyny. However, when man was being created, the harmful being,
Nen'vetgyyn'yn, intervened. It took out the hard hearts of the first men and
substituted clay hearts; this led to all the weaknesses, diseases and misfor-
tunes among men.
825 The Koryaks regarded wolves as their relatives (some sources also name
the bear). The wolf was described as a shaman animal. Even in the 20th cen-
(784 tury, many Alyutortsy strictly observed the taboo on killing wolves, which,
of course, had an extremely adverse effect on their reindeer-breeding.
764 The Koryaks burned the bodies of their dead.

Folk Arts

773 The Koryaks had a cycle of myths closely akin to those of the Chukchi
and Itel'mens, and similar to the Eskimos'. The principal character of these
myths is the raven-creator (in Koryak, Kuykynnyaku or Kutkynnyaku) which,
according to the beliefs of these peoples, gave people all their material
goods: he gave men reindeer and dogs, and taught them reindeer-breeding,
fishing, sea hunting, and the use of dog transportation. In some of the
myths, the image of the raven is fused with the image of the Etyny. But most